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The Aims of Christian Democracy

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The Council: A Good Beginning

Gregory Baum

Protestantism and Authority

Robert McAfee Brown

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THE COMMONWEAL
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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Warren Report

SINCE THERE ARE very few surprises in the Report of the Warren Commission, there are bound to be few surprises in its public reception. Those who believed all along that Lee Harvey Oswald was the sole assassin of John F. Kennedy now have detailed evidence to support that conviction. Those who have held that some kind of dark conspiracy was operating in Dallas can go on playing their ingenious games. There is nothing in the Report to rule out absolutely the possibility that secret, sinister forces were at work; the absence of supporting evidence is, presumably, of little consequence to the ideological skeptic. Those who have argued that there are important discrepancies in the testimony, unexplained coincidences, undiscovered witnesses and unexplored lines of inquiry will probably not be satisfied.

If one wants the whole truth, the truth about man's capacity for revolting crimes, the truth about how and why our political system can fertilize the ground for assassinations, the truth about every detail and implication of Oswald's act (and Ruby's), the truth about the collective psyche of the city of Dallas and its guardians of the law—if that is what one wants, then the Warren Report does not provide the truth. But if, with President Johnson, one asks of the Commission only that it "satisfy itself that the truth is known so far as it can be discovered," the Report is commendable. It is a good, finite document by responsible, finite men. As if to insure that there would be no doubts about their limitations, the Commission members managed to allow leaks to the press, imprudent observations by Chief Justice Warren, and freely circulating criticisms of the investigative procedures. These are not the marks of brilliance, just human nature carrying on in its accustomed way.

The report, let it be said, makes for drab reading. The trouble does not lie in the prose; one could not have expected a stylistic masterpiece from a solemn, undistinguished body. Nor does it lie in the absence of sensational new revelations. What is missing is what has been missing from the whole circle of facts and events surrounding the assassination. There was neither sense nor coherence in it. It stands out still as one of those gratuitous happenings of history which have no symmetry, no rational explanation, no discernible purpose. An existentialist might call it absurd, and he might be right.

HAD THE REPORT concluded that some glaring weakness had been uncovered in our civic life; or that the protection accorded a President is disastrously inadequate, inviting assassination; or that the nation is shot through with plots, then some glimmer of sense might have appeared. But the recommendations of the Commission point to nothing so drastic. They speak of the need for better coordination between the Secret Service and the F.B.I., of an improvement in Secret Service techniques (including a resort to that savior of us all, "the most efficient data-processing techniques"), of a more responsible press and other news media. These are good suggestions, but suspiciously like the usual kind of ideas which emerge when any group of intelligent men takes a close look at the byways of government procedures. No dramatist is going to fashion an epic out of this altogether pedestrian material.

In the end we are not left with much. The nation knows better what it knew all along—that a deranged man can do deranged things. The Commission's psychological exploration of the mind of Lee Harvey Oswald reads like a case history out of a self-help manual: he had a "deep-rooted resentment of all authority" and could not, praise be to the jargon of self-realization, "enter into meaningful relationships with people." The nation also knows that hatred combined with violence can lead to disastrous results. But if the people did not know

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that before the assassination, they are not likely to know it much better now; anyway, men forget. The consistent thing about Original Sin, whether of the human or the political variety, is that it is so unimaginative, ever satisfied with repeating itself. President Kennedy tried to establish a new frontier. What he needed, but was not given, was a new humanity.

Mid-Campaign

WITH THE campaign about half over, the post-convention fears of what an all-out right-wing campaign based on simplistic ideas could do to the country have not been borne out. If the polls are anywhere near correct, the electorate has been a great deal more sophisticated in dealing with the Goldwater phenomenon than most analysts had told us to expect. Senator Goldwater has done his part. After five weeks, he has succeeded in developing only one major issue: Goldwaterism, and the uncertainties about it have taken hold in the most unlikely corners of the nation. The country *does* instinctively want in a President the balance, poise, restraint and grasp of facts that Goldwater so conspicuously lacks.

Goldwater has made every possible tactical mistake. The sweetness now being poured in vain over Republican moderates like Keating and Romney might have been productive if it had occurred to the Senator around convention time. The presence of William Miller on the ticket has neutralized the moral crusade against President Johnson. (*The Reporter* notes that Mr. Miller has been saying out loud and in public the things that Richard Nixon used to be alleged to have said to a rally of four people somewhere under a bush in the wilds of Montana.)

Goldwater remains addicted to needless hipshots that alienate whole blocs of voters at a time; the attack on social security that he has been trying to live down; the Marines-to-Guantanamo comment; the charge that President Kennedy timed the Cuban missile crisis for political purposes; the incredible suggestion that public welfare programs encourage crime.

For a man hailed so often as one who would not change his views to court election, Goldwater has been extraordinarily flexible. NATO, which he belittled, has become his fixed star; the Eisenhower foreign policy of which he was so contemptuous has become his model; since the campaign began, Goldwater has also switched his stand on the draft, tax-cuts, farm subsidies, extremists, TV debates, support for the United Nations, selling TVA, recognizing the Soviet Union and negotiating with Red China.

Through all this, President Johnson continues to let his opponent have as much rope as he wants, and the more the Senator speaks, the better the President looks. The President's decision not to debate with or even reply to Senator Goldwater was obvious enough, but seems to be paying off spectacularly; it is helping to make Goldwater seem even more brash and irrelevant than he really manages to be.

The problem for Johnson is to keep his camp from believing how bright the picture really is. The swing-over of Republican newspapers and Republican voters in suburbs and farm areas has been emphatic. The polls suggest that Goldwater is further down than any candidate has been at this stage since modern polling began in 1936. Goldwater has still not found an issue that the people are buying; only a major foreign disaster is likely to give him a chance to make up much ground quickly, and even then the tendency might be to rally around the incumbent instead. At this point, prospects are good that Goldwater will be beaten next month by as wide a margin as his improbable candidacy demands.

Peace, and the Price

THE RECENT settlement between the UAW and major auto companies reveals a paradox. While federal intervention of some sort in major labor disputes is more and more taken for granted, the device by which the federal government hopes to harmonize industrial settlements with the national interest, the wage and price guideposts of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, is of minimal value.

The wage-price guideposts are designed to promote steady economic growth without inflation. The aim of the wage guidepost is to keep prices stable by limiting wage increases to gains in productivity. But the measure of productivity gains to be used is not the gains in the particular industry where wage negotiations are being conducted, but the national productivity gains (estimated in recent years as 3.2 per cent annually). Therefore, although an individual industry may run ahead of the national trend in productivity and profits, e.g., the auto companies, a wage increase proportionately ahead of the national trend in that industry would be reflected in similar wage increases throughout the economy followed by price increases, and leading to inflation. So the Council of Economic Advisers reasons.

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Obliged to increase wages only in proportion to the *national* gain in productivity, an industry doing better than that would soon reap excessive profits. To offset this possibility, the Council set forth the price guidepost which insists that profits, like wages, be pegged to the national trend, not by sharing them through inflationary wage payments to workers but through price *cuts* which would benefit consumers. Were the Council's standards to have been followed precisely, the UAW would have received a smaller wage increase, but the auto producers would also have cut their prices considerably.

The Council guideposts are sound in theory but weak in practice, as the recent auto settlement proved. The existence of the wage guidepost does moderate labor's demands. The wage guideposts have entered the public consciousness, as witness the public concern when Walter Reuther announced the UAW was seeking a settlement which would exceed them. The price guideposts, on the other hand, are little known.

Further, public pressure for price cuts cannot be exerted on the auto companies as a pressure for moderate pay raises can be on the union. There is no psychological moment when price cuts come to public attention as wage increases do during the period of bargaining. As usual, the sin of omission is harder to detect. And with one half of the guidepost system ignored, the UAW did the logical thing: it ignored the other half.

The national economic interest is presently guarded by power without plan. The price guidepost is nothing more compelling than a bit of advice, which even the Council of Economic Advisers admits "large industrial enterprises thus far have not widely heeded." On the other hand, the necessities of national economics have made federal intervention in wage negotiations an accepted pattern. The low estate of rational economic planning in this country means that usually the government intervenes simply in favor of a settlement, any settlement, rather than seeking a particular type of settlement.

Today, even "successful" negotiations like those in the auto industry raise the question of the need for a formal, democratic procedure of national economic planning to replace the helter-skelter federal and private pressures which presently try to protect the national interest. Is national economic planning a threat to freedom? The experience of the French (now in process of devising a new five-year plan, their fifth) and the Scandinavians (Sweden's and Denmark's socialist government having been recently re-elected by constituents apparently unaware of any danger of slavery) suggests not. Were the present political campaign a new show instead of a re-run of 1936, such a question might receive the airing it needs.

G.E. and a Community

WHILE labor headlines have been focusing on the auto and steel industries, the electrical union at General Electric headquarters in Schenectady has been arguing for months. This was the largest of all the electrical equipment companies convicted of collusion and price-fixing in 1961, and is the tenth heaviest national advertiser.

The company contends that the present system of piece-rate compensation for three thousand of its local workers will price its generators and electric motors right out of the competitive market. It therefore demands that these workers be shifted to the daytime pay system of the other employees—which would save the company some ten million dollars a year, and reduce the pay of the affected employees by an average of sixty dollars a week. If the union goes along, the company will spend some sixty millions for new production facilities in Schenectady; otherwise it will move out.

At stake, then, are at least five thousand G.E. jobs and the thirty-seven hundred more in the area which are said to be dependent upon them. This would be a crippling blow to a city of eighty thousand, particularly as further job losses would inevitably follow.

When a company resorts to this ultimate weapon in negotiations, what can the workers do? A number in Schenectady are said to be willing to accept the company terms. Can the union leadership? To call a strike there would precipitate abandonment of the plant—as well might a nationwide strike by G.E. workers. The courts are now weighing a union charge that the company plan constitutes a breach of its three-year contract. Unless this results in a decision favorable to the union, the leadership will have to choose between self-preservation for the workers on bleaker terms (which so far means simply knuckling under) and a stand that in four or five years would eliminate the livelihoods it is defending altogether.

This week we are happy to announce the addition to our staff of Wilfrid Sheed as drama critic. Mr. Sheed, author of two novels, A Middle Class Education *and the recent* The Hack, *has for some time written a regular column for our pages. His first comments on the current stage appear on Page 73 of this issue.*

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Race Against Hunger

TWO small but significant items recently appeared in the news in the same week. The first was a story from the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization in which it was reported that the increase in food production in 1963-64 was too small to offset the growth in the world's population. The second was about another U.N. report, this one from the Department of Economic and Social Affairs, to the effect that the number of people now in the world will double by the year 2000, when it is expected to reach the six billion mark.

Taken together, the two news items are sobering, and Catholics in particular ought to ponder them. I say this because there are few other subjects where one's basic moral attitude so colors one's whole approach.

Non-Catholic experts, for example, are not by and large opposed to artificial contraception on moral grounds. Their major concern is to awaken the world to the population problem. If they err, it is on the side of over-statement; they emphasize the dangers ahead; they coin catchy scare phrases.

Most Catholics, on the other hand, are highly conscious of the traditional opposition to artificial contraception. As a consequence, they often tend to talk as if there were no problem. Say "population problem" to the average Catholic and his response too often is a flat Pavlovian denial that there is any such thing or a dissertation on the nutritious qualities of seaweed or even on the possibilities of shooting men off into space to colonize other planets.

The population problem is too serious for either of these extremes, and the basic facts at least are clear enough that there really should be no dispute about them. World population is at an all-time high, and so too is the annual rate of increase. Taken together, these facts mean that the world's size is increased every year by roughly the equivalent of the population of France.

People are not, of course, having more children than they did in the past. What is happening is that more children are living to become adults. Four hundred years ago, the average life expectancy at birth was probably less than twenty-five years; today in this country it is around seventy years.

In the past, it took all of man's reproductive capacity for the race to stay even or to achieve a gradual growth. The sharp reduction in the death rate achieved by modern science and medicine has changed this whole picture. Between roughly 1650 and 1800 the population doubled, and then doubled once more in the following one hundred and fifty years. Now present predictions are that it will double once again by the year 2000. No wonder the experts are concerned.

The situation is particularly acute in the underdeveloped areas. In many parts of Latin America today, for example, the rate of annual increase is running around three percent, as compared with perhaps one-half to one percent in earlier eras. Three percent sounds innocuous enough, but it means that a nation's population can double in less than twenty-five years. In Ceylon, as one example, the population increased by one-third in only ten years. We can visualize the problems even a rich country like the United States would face if our population were to increase by one-third in ten years; for any of the small and already impoverished nations such an increase poses problems that are fantastic.

In one sense those who argue that Europe went through the same thing are correct. The population of Western Europe did double and then double again, and for one reason, the decline in mortality. This is exactly the same thing that is now happening in other parts of the world, but there is one big difference now —it is happening overnight. The population of Western Europe grew comparatively slowly and two things happened at roughly the same time: the birth rate declined and productive capacity went up. This is not true in the underdeveloped countries.

In a nation like Ceylon a death rate from malaria that used to be numbered by the tens of thousands can now be counted on your fingers, thanks to DDT. But industrial and agricultural productivity is not up proportionately, and the birth rate has not yet started down. There is no doubt that the birth rate will ultimately go down, by one means or other, just as it did in Western Europe, but in the meantime the problems such countries face are staggering. An already impoverished nation whose population is growing at the rate of three percent a year must invest approximately nine percent of its national income or its equivalent to expand its productive capacity—and this only to stand still, not to improve the condition of its people. If the nine percent for investment is not available from inside or outside, population growth will inevitably outstrip production.

All of this means, as I see it, that prosperous nations like the United States have a definite moral obligation to the have-not countries, no matter what Barry Goldwater and his followers try to tell us. And it also means, I think, that some form of family limitation is essential and must be actively encouraged. The theologians can and should argue about what means of achieving this are moral, but it would be foolish for any of us to close our eyes to the gravity of the problem we face.

JAMES O'GARA

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Chile's Newly Elected President Discusses Latin American Problems

The Aims of Christian Democracy

EDUARDO FREI

LATIN AMERICA has the highest rate of population growth in the world. It had 200 million inhabitants in 1960, and its 2.5 per cent rate of demographic growth will take this figure to 360 million by 1980.

This growth will in turn mean an increase of 38 million persons in the work force by 1975. If the present rate of employment does not improve, only 5 million new jobs will have been created. Far from improving matters, the introduction of modern technical methods in farming, mining, and industry will make them worse since it will cut employment and, when productivity increases, a yet larger number of persons will be put out of work.

It is the world region where the population flow from rural to urban areas is occurring at the fastest rate. This means that population masses invade the urban centers and surround the cities with belts that under a variety of names typify the social reality of direst poverty, marginal settlements, and sub-proletariats.

In spite of the violent flow of population from rural to urban sectors, the majority of the people continues to live on the farm. It is estimated that 110 million out of a total 200 million inhabitants were living in rural areas in 1960.

Deep contrasts are found in this continent between one area and another, as in North and South Brazil; between urban and suburban centers, with luxury commercial and residential districts in the hearts of towns, and Callampas, Favelas, and Villas Miserias (all shantytowns) in the outskirts; between universities (with sometimes monumental buildings), and illiteracy and wretchedly inadequate schools; between circles of high standards of living, culture, and sophistication and a huge mass living in subhuman conditions; between a proletariat living in modern conditions in large mining and new industrial centers and the peasants or workers in smaller enterprises, with very low living standards; and between the ultramodern city and the rural area of feudal and anachronistic structure.

The mind is staggered by the differences between economic strata, for, beyond a doubt, income distribution is tremendously out of balance. In Chile, for instance, 9 per cent of the population earn 50 per cent of the total income, the balance being distributed among the remaining 91 per cent of the population. Studies made in Brazil and Ecuador show that the Chilean situation repeats itself in similar fashion there; it is even worse in other countries.

Finally, and bypassing health, housing, and nutrition indicators for the sake of brevity, I will mention only one other important factor, rates of economic growth. During the 1950-60 decade, total income growth was approximately 4.5 per cent per year. Since the population growth rate, as has already been pointed out, was an annual 2.5 per cent, the net increase per inhabitant has only been 2 per cent per year.

This is the economic and social background of Latin America. It explains why the area is convulsed in a full revolutionary process—a process marked by precarious and unstable political regimes. Old dictatorships disappear and new ones are born. Cuba and Bolivia are matters of fact and cannot be overlooked; other countries fall prey to terrorism; in some, democratic frameworks hide silent struggles that register death tolls in the thousands; in others, the electoral process is unknown or ignored; others, showplaces of prosperity until a short while ago, are now in the throes of economic bankruptcy and political frustration. All live under the threat of inflation, discontent of the large peasant and working masses, and of the embitterment of their youth and middle classes.

Yet we do not believe that Latin America's future is entirely pessimistic. Some factors are working in favor of Latin America. First among them is that the $300 per capita income of the Latin American peoples compared with per capita income of many peoples in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa is higher by five or six times.

The second is that the Latin American peoples, whatever the nature of their difficulties, do have a Christian, Western tradition, and, even under the most obnoxious of tyrannies, retain a sense of freedom and a sense of the values that embody human dignity.

The third is that in almost all the countries of Latin America there is a stratum with university training that,

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EDUARDO FREI is the recently elected President of Chile. This article is adapted from a chapter in *Religion, Revolution, and Reform*, edited by Frederick B. Pike and William V. D'Antonio, to be published in November. © 1964, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

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if properly oriented, can be an active and leading element. In Chile, for instance, there are nine universities turning out high-level teachers, professors, and technicians. The same holds true for other Latin countries. In some African ex-colonies, by contrast, it is said that there were only eight native university graduates in all.

The fourth is that there is an important middle class, sometimes 20 per cent of the population, already in the process of formation. There is also an extraordinary human reserve, responsive to the slightest stimulus or the weakest incentive, and, last but not least, there is Latin America's wealth and expanse, which can absorb a population much greater than its present one, even when demographic growth is taken into account.

If we consider the situation as a whole we come to the conclusion that these positive elements can be of value only to the extent to which they are promoted through a mobilization of efforts to solve Latin America's problems. If, on the contrary, the effort is not made, these basic elements will lose their importance.

FOR A BETTER insight into the problems it is necessary to delve deeper into the most fundamental difference between North and South America. In the drive of the people of the United States toward the West, we observe a great advancing mass of farmers and immigrants with an ingrained spirit of equality and of adventure, each one seeking a piece of land. Latin America is different. It is a continent with a foreordained distribution, where only a few men are lords of the land, dominating those who serve and work for them. In exchange, the lords give the people protection and security. When the *patrón* is good there are good chances for a happy life. When the *patrón* is not good, everyone suffers. But it is the happiness or the suffering of a man dependent. He is given a home, food, sometimes money; religious "missions" sometimes visit his area; his health is looked after. He is in a sense one of the family, but subordinated and at a great distance from the *patrón*. Land ownership also implies political power, for the peasants and their families share the landowner's lot. In times of strife they follow him in arms, and in countries where there is "democracy" they cast their vote as they are told or ordered. As the extraordinary analyst Javier Lagarrigue so ably states it, the order brought by Spain did not come through "preaching of the Gospel to the people" or delicate refinements of scholastic thought. It came through an architecturally structured Christianity. It was the preshaped and dominant advent of a political, religious, social, cultural, and cosmic structure. When new Spanish-American societies were being created, the elements and institutions belonging to Spain's world-view were exported to America.

These are the basic elements in modern Latin America: accelerated industrialization of certain sectors; the exodus of the peasant to the city; the broadening of knowledge; the formidable impact of radio, television, movies, and newspapers; growing enlightenment; the progressive appearance of important middle-class sectors; and the systematic action of a Marxism that comes with the trappings of theory, but that acts through Communism as a specific system for economic development. All are hard facts that today shape a revolutionary crisis.

On the one hand, there is the central phenomenon of extreme poverty, a consequence of low income levels and low growth rates that makes for hunger, disease, ignorance, and meager hope; on the other hand, there are social, economic, and political structures historically obsolete but still vigorous and refusing to die. And, finally, there is the growing awareness of once-passive masses that constitutes the revolutionary process masterfully described by sociologist Roger Vekemans in his article "Psycho-social Analysis of the Pre-revolutionary Situation in Latin America."

This revolutionary crisis in Latin America is channeled primarily into a political struggle—a struggle for power. The leading classes now in power wish, at all costs, to stay there and still wield the power to support their purpose. Their main contention is that their fall will allow the rise of "Communism"; they argue that order must be preserved, and they define themselves as representatives of democracy. They say: "We defend 'order'; whosoever does not gather around us is playing into the hands of the Communists."

The great majority thinks that its effort is useless if the present structures are maintained, for then everything will be postponed. The first thing is to achieve power. Replace the dominant group, for, if this is not done, grass-roots initiative will be frustrated.

Evidently, this is partly right, but again the true nature of the problem is not understood. There emerges now a mystic hope that everything will be all right if the system is modified by the sole act of changing those in power, without giving thought to the fact that what is really needed is a great effort toward change among all the people in common. This phenomenon may be referred to as the psychology of distribution and not of creation. Hence the intensity and deformity of what is purely political. However, these facts are not easily overcome.

And now the second cautionary statement: In the Western Hemisphere, Marxism, and, more specifically, Communism, represents more than just another political movement. We could even say that it is a new religion. A seemingly complete answer to human concern, an interpretation of life, of history, and of the world, past and future. Those "joining" Communism do not do so in the traditional way that a party is joined. They undergo a transformation; they are converted. Many see in Communism a system that explains to them coherently, simply, and understandably their own existence as

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workers and as a social class. Communism opens a road to them. It is for this very reason that its success is sometimes greater among intellectuals, the better-off proletarian sectors, and even among the middle classes than among the rural, uneducated mass.

The answer given by many to this challenge could not be more mediocre. The anti-Communisms of fear, of preservation of "order," and of force, manifested in military coups, are doomed to failure and are constantly in rout. They have nothing to say to youth or the people. This explains the frustration resulting from regimes created to impose "order." Again, to ground all policy on the concept of "free enterprise" is almost absurd. This does not satisfy anyone's soul or intelligence. Furthermore, to continue speaking of freedom and democracy to people deprived of land, housing, schools, or opportunities is practically useless. They are words ill spent. What is important is to point the way to a true democracy and a true freedom.

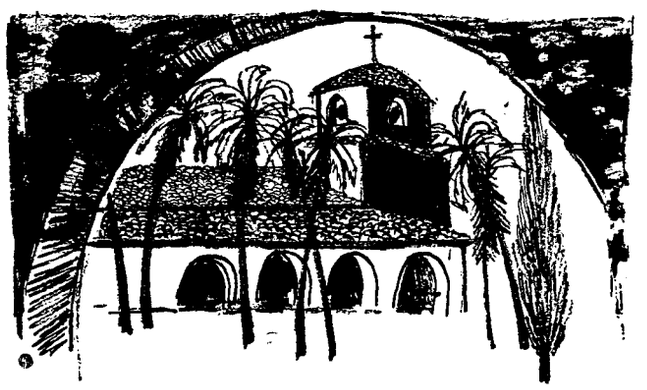
CONFRONTED with these facts, what does Christian Democracy offer?

Christian Democracy implies an organic and coherent concept, inspired in the values and principles of Christian philosophy. It is an equally deep and universal reply, an interpretation of man and his fate, and, as a reflection of it, a concept of the human personality that cannot be based on money, class, or race.

Christian Democracy implies, in the first place, a breaking with the "established order," with prevailing structures. Hence its statements are antagonistic toward those that form a democracy that can be so imperfect in some cases, so empty and false in others.

The central tenet of Christian Democracy is the belief hat we are witnesses to the crisis of a world exhausted, o the death of paternalism, and to the birth of a civilization of work and solidarity *with man as its center,* rather than the pursuit of monetary gain that has pervaded the bourgeois society. And its inspiration is that this new era in history and the new social condition will be based on Christian values and concepts of Christianity.

The strength of this movement lies, in consequence, in its positive character, and not a negative or anti-Communist position. Many people take a negative position, and their first question is always whether we are anti something. Christian Democracy is founded on faith and on the ability to believe that it represents and better interprets the nature of man, and can inspire a new and more perfect social order. It can give the state, the family, the labor union, the human being a greater possibility to find self-fulfillment in freedom; it can give them the means to attain the common good. That is why it seeks to install a political, economic, and social regime where human and social rights are within man's reach.



Christian Democracy maintains that power can be bestowed by free and secret vote, that it can be exercised publicly, with institutional control, and that it can be periodically renewed. Christian Democracy is inspired by its trust in man, in man's spiritual and personal destiny, and in man as a subject with essential rights, the origin and end of power, whose calling is to be the maker of the common good.

Christian Democracy is a nonconfessional party, and it is not constituted by Catholics for Catholics. Because its principles are inspired by a philosophy that, in the end, is confirmed by "Natural Right," its call goes to all: to Catholics, to those of other faiths, and to those with no faith at all. To accept the program is sufficient to belong to the movement. Indeed, in Chile, many Protestants, Jews, and agnostics have joined Christian Democracy, and their company does us honor. Naturally, the majority of its adherents are Catholics, but this is the obvious consequence of Catholicism's being the dominant religion in the country. There is, however, no confusion between Church and party, between religion and politics.

In Latin America there is need for a true revolution. Indeed, it is already in ferment, but the revolution must take place in freedom and under the control of a democratic movement. Old and inefficient social organizations that paralyze the economic system must be replaced, but only through institutional and administrative reforms that will permit authentic participation of the people in civic life. Only through reforms in land tenure, tax, educational, and other systems can all obstacles be removed. Only through development of the people's responsibility in municipal government, unions, and cooperatives, and through a policy for the protection and promotion of the family will the ground be laid for true democracy. Only through accelerated economic development can the standards of living be increased rapidly. All of these reforms simultaneously require a social policy for a more equitable distribution of income.

To such ends, democratic planning will be necessary. We have come to a point where it is absolutely necessary to make organized use of all the resources in the nation, and most especially of the human factor. The effort is of such scope and urgency that goals and means must be established; dispersion is no longer tolerable. This requires the cooperation of management, organized

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labor, the entire educational apparatus, the people in general. And it requires that outside and domestic resources be made adequate.

When we are asked where Christian Democracy stands—whether to the right or to the left—I would say that we wish to destroy this traditional and delusory dilemma of Latin America. If being with the people, the workers, the poor in their struggle for justice is to be on the left, then, undoubtedly, we are there. Our first duty is with a world emerging in history, in search of a path and an expression.

In Latin America we must today shoulder the responsibility of entering a new phase. The people wish to break with the old paternalism and ancient privileges, but do not wish to be led into dictatorships of any kind. They wish to progress and create new forms of social life. Latin Americans will not copy formulas that may have been suited to others but that are of no avail to them. I dream of a synthesis of justice and freedom in an economy that is based entirely on man's ability, not on inherited factors of money, class, or race. In Latin America it is man that must be made great.

From the Council

A Good Beginning

GREGORY BAUM

THE THIRD SESSION of the Vatican Council made a brilliant start on September 14 with a Eucharistic concelebration by Pope Paul and twenty bishops, followed by a short but reassuring address of the Holy Father to his brothers in the episcopate assembled in St. Peter's.

Before I describe the significance of this first day, however, I must discuss the warning addressed to the "periti" or Council experts on the second day and explain how this warning must be interpreted. Archbishop Felici solemnly read out the norms laid down for "periti" at a meeting of the Coordinating Commission on December 28, 1963, insisting that they apply during this session, and warning that Council experts who do not follow them may lose the privilege of attending the Council. These norms specify that "periti" are "forbidden to organize currents of opinions or ideas, to hold interviews or to defend publicly their personal ideas about the Council." They are, in addition, told "not to criticize the Council." The world press on the whole interpreted this warning as if Council experts were forbidden to write or speak on conciliar subjects and regarded Archbishop Felici's action as the kind of subtle terrorism of which outsiders sometimes accuse the Catholic Church. This interpretation is wrong.

When the norms were made public shortly after December 28, the "periti" living in their home countries did not immediately understand their significance. They waited to see how they would be interpreted in Rome itself. They were relieved when they found out that Council experts such as Fathers Boyer, Balic, and Ciappi continued to write in *L'Osservatore Romano* and to defend rather controverted subjects in connection with the Council. The norms were therefore interpreted in Rome as a warning only against irresponsible and tendentious journalism carried on by theologians. The responsible and conscientious reporting done by Council theologians is in harmony with the mind of the Council as expressed in the Decree on Communications. I feel free therefore to continue my reports for THE COMMONWEAL.

Let us return to the brilliant opening day of the session. The Pope concelebrating the Eucharist with so many of his episcopal brothers announced and realized in liturgical action the collegiality of the episcopate. Perhaps for the first time in St. Peter's the Eucharist was celebrated with stark and simple dignity and with responses and chants in which the assembled bishops, priests and lay people took an enthusiastic part. The local choir, with its concert-like baroque songs and motets, had been silenced, at least for a time. The whole assembly experienced the Eucharist as what it is to be in the Church: sign and cause of unity. While our sin and selfishness drive us apart and isolate us from each other, at the Eucharist we are again drawn into deeper communion with Christ and therefore with one another to become a single family. After this first concelebrated and fully participated Eucharist, the bishops must have found it hard to return to their multiple Masses at adjacent altars in churches, sacristies, and hotel lobbies, eating their paschal banquet alone.

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The Pope's speech was highly significant. It was addressed to the men assembled at St. Peter's, not to the world at large; it touched upon matters which had immediate application in the conciliar discussion. There was no need at this point to draw the lines of the Church's reform and renewal. Pope Paul recalled to the Fathers the presence of the Spirit in their midst. "The Spirit is here," he repeated several times; "We call upon Him, wait for Him, follow Him. Let us reflect on this truth that we may put ourselves before Him in trepidation, fully at his disposal; that we may become aware of the humiliating emptiness of our misery and the crying need we have of His help and mercy . . . The Council is for us a moment of deep interior docility, a moment of complete and filial adherence to the word of the Lord." This is language far removed from old-time triumphalism. The Pope called upon the bishops to enter into the "sober inebriation of the Spirit." This is not to be a bureaucratic Council where old truths are neatly put together and rubber-stamped as safe doctrine. This Council is to listen to the living voice of God Who constantly leads us to new insights into His unchanging message.

The main part of the Pope's comparatively brief speech was dedicated to the doctrine of the episcopate. He spoke about the matters taken up in chapter 3 of the schema *De Ecclesia* (On the nature of the Church). Without using the word "collegiality" and avoiding the technical terminology of the official document, Pope Paul described the role of bishops in the Catholic Church: they are successors of the Apostles, they are teachers, priests and rulers in the Church, they collaborate with one another and with the supreme bishop of Rome in the total apostolate of the Church. The Pope said that "he was among the first to respect their sacred authority." In fact, this was the weightiest and most delicate subject of the entire Council: "to decide the constitutional prerogatives of the episcopate, to delineate the relations between the episcopate and the Holy See of Rome, and to show how homogeneous is the constitutional idea of the Church under its differing Eastern and Western expressions."

Pope Paul then tried to show how the common responsibility of the episcopate is in harmony with the supreme position of the papacy as laid down in the First Vatican Council. The Pope is hinge and co-ordinating center of the Church universal. He exercises his supreme office as teacher and legislator in matters which touch upon the good of the entire Church, especially her unity of faith and communion. The Pope explained that the world-wide extension of the Catholic Church demands a strong leadership at the center, a central authority "which will be tempered and balanced by an alert and timely delegation of authority and facilities to local Pastors." The function of the Pope's supreme jurisdiction is therefore "not to weaken but to strengthen the authority of the episcopate, whether this authority be considered in the individual bishop or in bodies of bishops."

In this connection the Pope called himself repeatedly "Moderator" of the episcopal college, which the translations into the vernacular rendered, strangely enough, as "Head." It is also worth mentioning that the word "centralization" which occurs rather freely in the English translation was never used by Pope Paul to describe the supreme role of the papacy within the episcopal college.

It seems to me that Pope Paul's speech was a defense of, and a plea for, chapter 3 of the schema *De Ecclesia* dealing with the collegiality of bishops. One had the definite impression that conservative bishops of the extreme wing had repeatedly approached the Pope with their fears that chapter 3 would undermine the supreme position of the Roman Pontiff and basically go against the teaching of the First Vatican Council. In his opening speech the Pope replies to these bishops. He explains to them in his own words, avoiding technical vocabulary, that the collegiality of bishops as laid down in chapter 3 in no way contradicts the supreme position of the Pope but that, on the contrary, the supreme office of the Roman bishop guarantees and protects the unity and efficacy of the episcopal college.

The final section of Pope Paul's opening speech was addressed to the Observers who included, for the first time, representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Pope's words were inspired by a truly ecumenical spirit; they were moving. Pope Paul welcomed the Observers to the Council and reflected with them on the need of comprehension and charity among the various Christian Churches. In this connection he used a word which until now has been "tabu" in Roman circles: he spoke of the "practical pluralism" existing among Christians, even though they are all called to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. With deep emotion the Pope then addressed himself to the "Churches" separated from us with these words:

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"O Churches that are so far and yet so close to us! O Churches for whom our heart is filled with longing! O Churches, the nostalgia of our sleepless nights! O Churches of our tears and of our desire to do you honor by our embrace in the sincere love of Christ." Only a man who has been profoundly touched by the charity and the intense suffering of ecumenism can speak in this way. It is wonderful and inspiring to hear such words from the chair of Peter. *Deo gratias!*

Apart from the discussion of chapter 3 of *De Ecclesia,* the Pope did not refer to any of the schemata which are on the agenda of the Council. Since he addressed himself only to the Fathers and Observers assembled in the *aula,* he took for granted that they understood the gravity of the subjects about to be discussed. A summary of the conciliar program was not required at this point.

FOR THE readers of THE COMMONWEAL, however, I wish to summarize the present position of the conciliar work. In the last session two documents were promulgated, among which the Constitution on the Liturgy is of capital importance. Its significance is not exhausted by the liturgical reforms which it introduces; of equal or even of greater importance is the theological approach of the document, its vision of what the Church is, its understanding of Word and sacrament, its presentation of the Christian life. The Constitution on the Liturgy makes much of our manual theology antiquated: it gives a truly new understanding of who man is, *i.e.* of who we are.

At the last session were discussed what are now 6 chapters of the schema *De Ecclesia,* several chapters of the schema on the government of dioceses, and three chapters of *De Oecumenismo.* In the intervening months these documents have been amended or corrected according to the suggestions of the Council Fathers. This work has been done in the various Commissions which had prepared the documents and who retained responsibility for them. The amended documents are now, in this third session, to be submitted to the Council, no longer for discussion but for a voting which will either accept them, more or less as they stand, as conciliar documents or reject them entirely.

The voting is a rather complicated process. First, the 6 chapters of *De Ecclesia* will be submitted to the vote of the Fathers. Some chapters, such as chapter 1, which contain little controversial material, will be adopted (or rejected) by a single vote of the Fathers. Other chapters, such as chapter 3, which contain many new sentences and paragraphs dealing with matters hotly controverted in the last session, are divided into sections and will be voted upon section after section. It would appear that discussion on the amended documents is no longer possible. After the 6 chapters of *De Ecclesia,* the chapters of the schema on the government of dioceses will be voted on, and then the 3 chapters of the schema on ecumenism. There can be no doubt that at the end of this session a substantial body of conciliar documents will be ready for promulgation.

A curious thing happened on the second day of the Council. A document called "Votum of the Pontifical Biblical Commission" was distributed to the Fathers, in which the biblical basis of collegiality is discussed. Reading the document, however, reveals that the votum was not prepared by the Pontifical Biblical Commission at all, but only by its members living in Rome. The Pope himself had asked these men in May, 1964, to prepare a statement for him. But it is not clear at all who was responsible for printing this statement as a conciliar notification, for calling it a votum of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, and for having it distributed to all the Fathers presumably as some kind of directive.

According to the American Press Panel the votum confirms that Jesus built His Church upon the Apostles, with Peter, as body or college and indicates that from Scripture *alone* the relation of the bishops, successors to the Apostles, and the Pope, successor to Peter, cannot be determined. This is, of course, true. Without reflecting on the tradition of the Church we cannot understand the meaning of many scriptural passages. It was precisely the early tradition of the Church which believed that the divinely founded apostolate survived in the unity of the episcopal college. But by stating that the scriptural texts *alone* are not perfectly conclusive, the votum could have created the impression that the doctrine proposed in chapter 3 is not quite clear.

What is the agenda of this third session of the Council apart from the voting of amended schemata? First, two chapters of *De Ecclesia* will be discussed, chapters 7 and 8, dealing with the eschatological destiny of the Church and with the Blessed Virgin Mary in the mystery of Christ and the Church. Then some more chapters of the schema on the government of dioceses will be discussed by the Fathers. After this come the important declarations, prepared by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, on Religious Liberty and, as a separate document, on the Jews. The discussion of these declarations may well be lively.

There are many other schemata to be discussed. Some of them have been reduced to a series of statements. It may well be that the Fathers of the Council will prefer to be silent about such subjects as the Church's mission, seminaries and religious life, rather than promulgate a few general propositions which do not face the contemporary issues. There are, however, still a few schemata providing a detailed treatment of their subject, such as the document on Revelation, on the Lay Apostolate, and more especially the famous schema 13 (schema 17 of the last session) on the Church in the world. At the moment it is not yet clear how and when these various documents will be submitted to the Council.

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A Protestant Viewpoint

Protestantism and Authority

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

WHERE, for the Protestant, is authority located? The Catholic answer to this question is probably almost automatic: in "the right of private judgment," which usually means to the Catholic that the Protestant is "free to believe whatever he wants to believe." The Protestant lives in a kind of spiritual anarchy, in which nobody is under the authority of anything save the compulsion of his own inner spiritual insight. Since these insights will vary from individual to individual, there is no guarantee beyond coincidence that two Protestants will agree on any matter of faith.

This, I have discovered, is what many Catholics feel Protestantism "really is." It is the point at which I find greatest difficulty in trying to convey to the Catholic anything of the ethos of the Protestant faith. It is on the matter of authority that communication beween us becomes most difficult.

I think that what I have described above is a stereotype of the Protestant faith, though I sympathize with the difficulty the Catholic has in moving beyond it. Perhaps the way to begin dispelling the stereotype is to suggest that, despite the obvious differences between us at this point, we are actually a lot closer to one another than either of us has realized. For if it is a Catholic stereotype of Protestants to think that Protestantism is really spiritual anarchy, it is (I am daily more persuaded) equally a Protestant stereotype of Catholicism to think that authority in the Catholic church is so clearly and precisely defined that there is no problem: if the Catholic isn't sure about something, all he has to do is read a "Catholic book," or ask somebody in the hierarchy, in order to get the answer. This is Catholicism's advantage over Protestatism, that it provides a degree of assurance the Protestant cannot claim, since it has possession of the truth in an unambiguous way.

Thus the stereotype. As I look at Catholicism, however, I don't find the stereotype describing what I see. For if a Catholic has a problem, the answer he gets depends on whom he asks. And he doesn't necessarily get the same answer if he asks two people or three. If he asks Cardinal Bea he gets a different answer than if he asks Cardinal Ruffini. If he reads *Pacem in Terris* he gets a different slant than if he reads *Humani Generis*. If he consults *Mater et Magistra* he learns something other than he learns by consulting the *Syllabus of Errors*. Living in Los Angeles, to change the figure, isn't the same as living in St. Louis. And vice-versa.

Now I know that there is an answer to this. It is that on essentials of the faith there is full agreement, and that the differences are differences on peripheral matters or degrees of emphasis. But even in the area of "the essentials of the faith," which are not at all peripheral, I have made the interesting and sometimes perplexing discovery that not all interpretations of those essentials coincide. As I have remarked more than once in this column, I would like very much to know *the* Catholic teaching on irreformability, papal primacy, collegiality, and any number of similar items of ecumenical import. But here, too, different tutors tell me different things. Vatican I, I learn from no less an authority than Pope Paul, is incomplete. Cardinal Bacci's interpretation of primacy is not that of Cardinal Suenens, nor does Cardinal Ruffini's view of the possibility of sin in the church coincide with that of Cardinal Meyer, even though the two of them sit practically next to one another at the cardinal-president's table in St. Peter's.

I AM NOT for a moment deploring this state of affairs. Indeed, it gives me great heart and hope, for it indicates clearly, as many of the Council fathers have said, that there is not one way, and one way only, to define the faith. I am always cheered when I remember Cardinal Léger, speaking in the Council, echoing words Pope Paul had already spoken to the Protestant observers, about the dangers of doctrinal "immobilism," and the need for theological humility.

There is, to be sure, a much greater degree of doctrinal uniformity and verbal agreement among Catholics than among Protestants. But if I wanted the kind of theological *securitas* that typical Catholic apologetics claim that Mother Church provides—the Church knows all the answers and can tell you exactly what they are—I would not become a Roman Catholic but a Southern Baptist. No fear of "immobilism" there; no reticence about knowing exactly what every verse of Scripture means; no timidity in consigning to the outer

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reaches of hell any who would destroy the least jot or tittle of the faith once delivered to the Baptist saints.

The Catholic, in other words, if he is a reasonably well-read Catholic who has gone beyond the Baltimore Catechism to Karl Rahner and Jean Daniélou and Hans Küng and any other official *periti* of the Council, is not simply presented with *the* answer. He is confronted with a variety of ways of interpreting any given matter of doctrine and finally he must, in the interior of his own heart, make his own act of assent. Nobody else can make it for him, and though the church and his spiritual directors can help him a great deal, finally the decision is his. And, as Catholic theology has long taught, he must make it in conformity with the dictates of his own conscience. He cannot pretend to believe what in actual fact he finds it impossible to believe. Even though his conscience be objectively in error, its subjective integrity must be honored.

This, at least, is how I understand the situation with which the Catholic is confronted as he tries to relate himself to the teaching authority of the church. If I am grievously in error in this description, I ought to be corrected.

But if I am not, then I find the situation of the Catholic to be much closer to the situation of the Protestant than I used to imagine it to be. The remaining differences have to do not so much with the external influences that form the Protestant's decision, as with their structural visibility. When I am confronted by a matter in which my faith is tested, either as to its orthodoxy or as to its relevance to the twentieth century world, there are at least three factors that must enter into my attempt to determine the authenticity of that faith.

The first testimony with which I must be confronted is the testimony of Holy Scripture. This has always been, for the Protestant, the major resource of Christian insight. Is that which I affirm consistent with Scripture or is it not? If it is not, then the burden of proof is certainly upon me. *Sola scriptura* was the Reformers' rallying cry, "by Scripture alone." I don't think we can say that today without cheating, unless we say it in the way the Reformers really meant it, which is Scripture as interpreted by the testimony of the church through the ages.

So the latter, Christian tradition, becomes a second resource of authority for the Protestant. We cannot approach Scripture "cold," as though there had not been nineteen centuries (or more) between us and it. And when we seek enlightenment from Scripture, we must seek it not just as individuals, but in the context of the community of faith. How did the early fathers interpret this text? What did Augustine make of it? Luther? Calvin? How, in the light of their testimony, are we to interpret it today? The danger at this point, of course, is that we will be too selective in those to whom we choose to listen, and it is encouraging that the new ecumenical climate is making it possible for Protestants to listen more openly than before to Aquinas and Loyola and Newman. (That we have joined hands long since in the circle of Biblical studies is one of the facts of the ecumenical revival too patent to need further elaboration at the moment.)

Thirdly, the Protestant has to bring the message of Scripture, as seen in the light of tradition, into his own situation, and appropriate it in and for his own personal experience. Now he may, on occasion, have to dissent from that tradition. Once again, if he does so, the burden of proof is on him, although he will usually find that there have been those within the tradition who uphold his hard-won conviction. He may come to feel that what has been a minority report for centuries is now, in the fullness of time, crying out for expression—a neglected emphasis that the Spirit is at last trying to thrust upon the consciences of men.

I HOPE that Catholics will find much in the above description to which they can offer a muted if not resounding "Amen," and the difference between us, as I am trying to suggest, is not so much in the process by which the authority imposes itself upon us, as in the degree to which the terms of that authority are externally and structurally manifested. There *is* a clearer understanding in Catholic faith of what "the church teaches" about a given passage of Scripture, for example, although that understanding, even if it does not formally "change," at least undergoes "development" and rethinking—as the very existence of the Second Vatican Council witnesses. And the price for setting oneself against the received teaching is, in Catholicism, a higher price than is formally observable in Protestantism.

For the Catholic, I presume, the supreme act of spiritual pride is to set oneself above the teaching church: who is that individual who can claim that his insights are superior to those incorporating centuries of Christian reflection within the ongoing life of the church? But the Protestant must put it a bit differently. He must go on to say, in a way the Catholic cannot quite say, that the church herself may be guilty of spiritual pride and even of apostasy, and that there

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may come times when, in the name of Christ and for the sake of Christ, a word must be spoken against the church. If churchmen are saying that Hitler can be followed, there must be a Barmen Declaration to challenge those within the church who say so. If the Sanhedrin tells Peter and the other apostles to stop preaching the risen Christ, Peter can only reply, "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29).

This, I think is the final resting place of Protestants on the prickly question of authority: we must obey God rather than men—even the "men" in the church, if and when obedience to God and men come into conflict, as they may. They came into conflict in Germany in the '30s. They come into conflict in many parts of the South, and the North, in the '60s. Martin Luther King's "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," written to eight clergymen who disapproved of his actions, is a good example of the spirit of authority in Protestantism. Dr. King does not say that he is acting on his own personal whim. He claims to be standing in the heritage of all those who, in the name of God; protest injustice, and so he cites Amos and Paul, Aquinas and Augustine, Martin Luther and John Bunyan, along with many others who make clear to Dr. King that on the issue of racial injustice in Alabama in the 1960's, the burden of proof is not on those who are disobeying unjust laws, but on those who are silently acquiescing to them. And since the latter can be found in great numbers in the church, the church at this point must be called to account by those who love the church.

Thus a recognition that the church is always in need of Reform, that it is always in some degree distorting as well as displaying the gospel, must be built into a Protestant understanding of authority. *Ecclesia semper reformanda,* the church always to be reformed, remains a Protestant watchword. The encouraging thing ecumenically is that this watchword is likely to emerge in the long sweep of history as the watchword of Vatican II, even though the historians may pronounce it *aggiornamento.*

THERE is another place at which the relationship of Protestantism and Catholicism to the issue of authority can be contrasted. This has to do with what happens when either church, through its duly appointed officials, exercises its authority against an individual.

Let us take an example, not at all hypothetical. A Catholic priest or a Protestant minister is removed from his pulpit. What happens? In my own denomination, to speak concretely, such action is exercised by a regional judicatory known as the presbytery, a kind of corporate bishop with power to call, ordain, install and remove men from the pulpit. The minister in question, however, will have the privilege of review before his presbytery. If the action against him is sustained, he can then appeal to a higher judicatory, the synod, comprising all the presbyteries within a given area, usually the state. Should he fail in this appeal also, he can still appeal to the highest judicatory, the General Assembly, composed of representatives of presbyteries from all over the country. (Beyond the General Assembly, there is no court of Presbyterian appeal save the throne of heaven, and vindication from that source must be presumed to come eschatologically since it does not come temporally.) The point is that there is recognition that the "moderator, fathers and brethren" of the presbytery or synod might have erred, and that a final process of review must be possible. Perhaps the man is not guilty of heresy. Perhaps the penalty is too severe. Perhaps, indeed, the presbytery and not the man was at fault.

Now when the Protestant looks at the Catholic scene, this process of review does not appear to him to be a real possibility. A priest is removed from his parish by his bishop because (let us presume) the priest believes in civil rights and the bishop does not, or at least does not believe civil rights to be appropriate subject-matter for a sermon. The priest in this situation appears to have no recourse whatever. There seems to be no machinery by means of which the merits of the situation may be argued before those who are disinterested. It does not seem likely that a pope is going to depose a cardinal on the basis of objections lodged by a diocesan priest, the structure of Roman Catholicism being what it is. The Protestant consequently bleeds for a Father DuBay (to maintain the pretense no longer), wishing that there were ways in which his voice, so sorely needed, could speak loudly and clearly on behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed in what is far from being "the best-integrated city in the United States," the chancery office notwithstanding.

The difference, in these two cases, goes back, I think, to the degree to which *ecclesia semper reformanda* is a present possibility in the church. Might it not be that the voice of a parish priest, crying out for justice for the Negro, is closer to the gospel—to Scripture, to the tradition of the church, and to the conscience of man—than an attitude which does not recognize the existence of the problem? Ought there not to be ways in which the sound of that voice can be heard, rather than stifled?

The Protestant feels constrained, in the name of the gospel, to respond to the question with a vigorous affirmative. And he would hope that there will be increasing ways in which the Catholic can similarly respond, so that authority, surely necessary in the church, can be exercised creatively rather than destructively. Perhaps, indeed, it is in the degree to which we acknowledge "the right of dissent" as a *right,* that we are still most grievously divided from one another.

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THE SCREEN

Dr. Strangelove, I Presume?

MOVIEGOERS who saw "Dr. Strangelove" earlier this year will realize even before they get to the mid-point of the new "Fail Safe" that the plots of the two films are quite similar. There's a story behind all this, but the details are not entirely clear. "Strangelove" stemmed from *Red Alert* by Peter George; and "Fail Safe" is based on the book of that title by Eugene Burdick and Harvey Wheeler; their plots *were* similar, and after the two films were started, the authors and practically everyone else connected with the movies got involved in a plagiarism suit; then Columbia Pictures did the smart thing by taking over both films, and they released "Strangelove" in January and are now putting out "Fail Safe." Just how smart their involvement in the whole deal really is will no doubt depend on what happens at the box office with the new movie. Will audiences feel gypped at this seeming overexposure and retelling of the same story?

The trigger device in both films, although by no means the whole story, is a United States bomber plane, apparently on drill but eventually flying over Russia and heading straight for Moscow with its megaton bombs. "Strangelove" made a grim and rather sick joke of all this and went far beyond the what-fools-these-mortals-be satire in its tastelessness. "Fail Safe" is a suspenseful thriller done with deadly seriousness. In the first place, Max E. Youngstein gave it an excellent production with an outstanding cast and stunning photography and sets that add startling realism to a tale that is essentially in the science-fiction realm. And Sidney Lumet's direction builds up an almost unbearable tension as the story races to its terrifying finale.

Interestingly enough, most of the exciting action, staged so effectively by Lumet from Walter Bernstein's screenplay, takes place indoors in three well-built sets: the Pentagon War Room, where Top Brass and some civilians are gathered to concentrate on the next steps after our bomber plane, through a failure in mechanism, gets the wrong signal and aims for Moscow with its deadly load; the SAC War Room in Omaha where the complicated fail-safe mechanisms and computers are and where officers are unable to signal the bomber plane to return because of Russian jamming of apparatus; and most important, the bomb shelter beneath the White House where the President, who must make all final decisions, sits with the young man who is his translator. The telephone wires are kept hot. Should our fighter planes down our bomber? Should we give Russians top secrets so they can destroy our bomber? Will the Russians believe that this is an accident due to mechanical failure?

In "Strangelove," most of the characters were nuts; and nuttiest of all was the general who deliberately sent our plane to bomb Russia. In "Fail Safe," a couple of the characters are muddled, but most of them are intensely sincere in trying to prevent war—and the world annihilation it could lead to. The cast in the key roles are fine: Frank Overton as the top general in Omaha; Fritz Weaver as his colonel who goes berserk when it comes time to give Russia top secrets; Dan O'Herlihy as the Pentagon general who argues against war no matter what has to be done; Walter Matthau as a foreign scientist (perhaps the counterpart of Strangelove?) who thinks we should go ahead and wipe out Russia now; Edward Binns as the colonel flying the bomber, so well trained that he refuses to listen to the President or his own pleading wife. In the role of the President who meets this crisis, makes the difficult decisions, and finally proves to the Russians that all this is an accident, Henry Fonda is first-rate in his display of calm-understress and emotion that must never disturb his thinking. And at his side, Larry Hagman (Mary Martin's son) gives an extraordinary performance as the man who translates the Russian Premier's statements in the several long distance calls, statements that must be conveyed in a matter-of-fact voice that also reveals their import, tone, and any inner meanings.

As a film, "Fail Safe" has its weaknesses. Its opening scenes in which it introduces too many characters are confusing; and O'Herlihy's bullfighter nightmares are pretentious and unnecessary—as is the picture's occasional hysterical melodrama. But it is a far better film than "Strangelove," and I feel it succeeds where "Strangelove" didn't in portraying the imperfectibility of man and his over-complicated machines. It has the kind of good showmanship that forces the viewer to think and argue about its characters and their momentous decisions.

ALSO about planes and also employing good showmanship is "Fate Is the Hunter." But other than that, it has little in common with "Fail Safe." Actually this is a soap opera that asks: What is Jack Savage really like? The picture opens with scenes showing a passenger plane in trouble and then crashing. Soon after the airline company as well as the Civil Aeronautics Board and the FBI start investigating the crash in which there were 53 dead and only one survivor, the airline hostess (Suzanne Pleshette), rumors are spread that pilot Jack Savage was seen in a bar shortly before take-off. Angered at the airline's willingness to dump the blame on the pilot, the company's director of flight operations (Glenn Ford) starts an investigation of his own. He recalls his own experiences with Jack (Rod Taylor) and he calls on various people, some of whom give not too savory reports. Through a series of flashbacks, including favorable accounts by Nancy Kwan, Wally Cox,

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and Mark Stevens, we finally get the complete story: Jack was no lily, but he was an expert pilot. While most of this is rather superficial, Ralph Nelson has directed some good performances and the film has enough suspense to hold one's interest. It will probably be liked by TV viewers and hated by airline companies.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

Housebroken Satire

IT ISN'T the fault of "The Committee," which has just come bouncing in from San Francisco, that the Eastern Seaboard has already undergone enough satire in the past few seasons to last an average seaboard's lifetime. Satiric groups from Chicago and England—and England and England—have been pouring in by bus and plane: four thin men and two thin girls, turned out by some international satire-machine, tirelessly twisting and kneading the thin material of our public life.

It isn't the fault of "The Committee" either that it conforms eerily to type. The political and sexual points have been made and hammered by every small group to hit New York. The jokes about Barry Goldwater are of a staleness that Mr. Goldwater himself might approve. The sexual sketches are the usual animated-Feiffer cartoons. The international satiric point of view is now so rigid, and the lines of O.K. irreverence so clearly drawn, that nothing remains but to push a little bit further with sex, and to flirt with sacrilege. "The Committee" does both, but well within the limits of audience acceptance. Nobody goes away mad.

Satire of this kind is essentially parasitic, and its field of operation is narrowing all the time. Christianity may prove to be the last frontier. Once that has been broached—and I believe our satire-sated audiences are ready for it: not for jokes about priests but jokes about the Gospel itself—the only thing left to satirize will be satire itself: small satirical groups imitating other small satirical groups, until the tail has been swallowed and the snake has vanished.

Thus "The Committee" comes too late into a world too old. All the targets are down, as Scott Fitzgerald would say, and shock has become a distant memory in these parts. There wouldn't be so much satire going around if there was any danger in it. And "The Committee" is an ominous, Freudian slip of a title at that. For this is just the kind of satire you would expect from a genuine committee. The sketches were apparently thought up and approved by the whole group, and they have all the flatness and anonymity of group-statements. There is nothing in them that a good average liberal would want to alter.

A stray question comes to mind: what is to become of all these young satirists when they grow old? Will we then have a lot of old satirists on our hands? Or will they have faded back into the community woodwork which they now sneer at? Old satirists would be worth listening to—men who have really had time to be hurt by the hypocrisies of religion and public life, and who have not received all their wounds at second hand. But there aren't any old satirists on Broadway. At the moment, satire is a young man's game, not far removed from college humor: and college humorists traditionally wind up as bank presidents, stockbrokers and clergymen.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that Hamilton Camp is a genuine comic, not just the usual mimer, and that several of the sketches—I am thinking especially of one in which a shoe-salesman and his customer break into a rapturous dance when they find the right shoe—are fresh and unexpected, and not simply routine twists on our much twisted institutions. *(At the Henry Miller)*

"THE ALCHEMIST" takes us back a few centuries in comic style. If you have by any chance read Jonson's play in cold print, it may not have occurred to you that it was a comedy at all. It is based at the most on a single joke which, like an Art Buchwald column, it works over methodically from curtain to curtain. The joke might be called the scatology of avarice: the play is a kind of dirty postcard about money. According to Jonson, shameless eagerness for gold can make people look ridiculous in much the same way as lust can. By some special harshness of diction, plus an awe-inspiring contempt for his characters, he gives his theme a kind of rich squalor, a black bathroom-humor, that sinks it every time as conventional comedy. Greed gloated over, and picked at like a sore for two hours, is no joke.

But under Stephen Porter's direction, "The Alchemist" is actually quite funny—and not only funny, but good-natured. The actors do just the right amount of mugging and charging up and down stairs to suggest that Jonson was having a delirious time when he wrote it. Philip Minor, for instance, turns Sir Epicure Mammon into nothing worse than a kind of Elizabethan W. C. Fields; and Mario Siletti, as Tribulation Wholesome, makes a wonderfully fatuous clergyman, more at home in the 18th century then the 16-17th, I would guess. John Heffernan as Subtle is the only one to suggest the darker, more bilious side of Jonson. Otherwise, this heavy, brutal cross-section of Elizabethan sneer has been turned into what the ads might call a "hilarious!" "romp!" *(At the Gate)*

JEAN ANOUILH'S "Traveller Without Luggage" sug-

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gests that even a first rate playwright cannot get away with amnesia any more. The subject has been done in by a hundred old movies; even if Ben Gazzara didn't tilt all the time, a sense of unreality would probably persist. The incidence of amnesia in fiction simply outstrips its occurrence in real life by too much. However, Mr. Anouilh treats us to a nice, civilized evening (all the quieter for taking place in such a big roomy theater) and if you can't remember much about it the next day, it may be because amnesia is more contagious than I suppose.

The point of the play, by the way, is that if you must come back from the dead, it is better to do it without relatives. Mr. Anouilh is nothing if not reasonable. *(At the ANTA)*

WILFRID SHEED

CORRESPONDENCE

"Catholic Freedom and Mr. Wills"

Baltimore, Md.

TO THE EDITORS: I was entertained and instructed by Mr. Callahan's adroit "gentle mayheming" of Catholic debate ["Catholic Freedom and Mr. Wills," Sept. 4]. But (as he put it when discussing my book, *Politics and Catholic Freedom*), "whether he is aware of the ironies inherent in his approach is another matter." He suggests, in his playful vein, that I have two minds —one hovering in the vicinity of Johns Hopkins (and of my body), the other lurking in the offices of the *National Review*. One he approves of, the other he reprehends. One is, in his *ultimate* categories, liberal; the other, alas, conservative. At any point to play hooky from the one camp, or to infiltrate the lines of the other, is apparently unthinkable except on the assumption of *Zweigeistigkeit*. I am nightly gulled by my familiar, and in need of exorcism.

Both my brains are awed at the iron confines that can be placed around thought by those simple words "liberal" and "conservative." For these same categories, assumed in the playful parts of Mr. Callahan's article, are applied with rigor in later, more serious paragraphs; and in a gracious pre-publication comment on my book, sent to its publisher, each of Mr. Callahan's five careful sentences was constructed around a Gorgian antithesis between *liberal* and *conservative*. Steering torturously, stopping often to take his bearings from these fixed stars, he seems to think the primary job, when faced with any thought, is to decide which one of these two labels one is to paste on it. Thus, in his article, he creates the impression that "conservatives" are only now borrowing some ideas "developed by theological progressives" (and presumably owned by a certified band of them) because they find they *need* them at the moment, and any weapon they can grab up, from anywhere, will do. That is, he *does* play with the fashionable assumption that the same mind cannot honestly subscribe to any combination of ideas taken from the two big barrels, those labeled "conservative" and those labeled "liberal" by the intellectual customs bureau of our journalism.

Yet Newman in the last century, and John Courtney Murray in this, are unsilenceable examples, from a thousand less resonating ones, that we need not take our ideas on such a "package-deal" basis. And there are many people with "conservative" political ideas who, far from raiding the mental armory of the theological progressives, have been at home there from the very beginning, helping develop such ideas, in seminaries and out of them. Some of these people helped me with my books; one of them gave me the idea for it. They do not *really* have two heads, just one; but that one is open to all the solicitings of reality, not shut tight until a single password—"liberal" or "conservative" as the case may be—lifts, against its protest, the rusted portcullis of the partisan mind.

GARRY WILLS

Reply

I am afraid that Mr. Wills, who feels bilocated by my moving his mind about without taking thought for the placing of his body, has totally misread my article. My reference to his two minds had nothing at all to do with the political or theological positions they take, but rather with their strikingly different style and temper. The Johns Hopkins mind is scholarly, nuanced and judicious. The *National Review* mind is polemical, cutting and, at times, downright unpleasant. I neither said, nor even suggested, that this distinction had anything to do with the labels "liberal" and "conservative."

I did not say, or imply, this for the very good reasons Mr. Wills presents. I do not now, and have never, believed that liberal and conservative are ultimate categories, either in theology or politics. He is absolutely right in saying that we should not take our ideas on a "package-deal" basis. When I reviewed Father John Courtney Murray's book, *We Hold These Truths*, in these pages on November 25, 1960, I made exactly the same point. What Mr. Wills calls my "fashionable assumption" has been out of date for years; he does my reputation great harm (based as it is on playing only with the latest fashions).

If one is going to be open to all the "solicitings of reality," a good place to start would be for an author to read carefully what his reviewers actually say. For their part, reviewers would, I suppose, do well to assign only one mind to one author; but authors could make this easier by writing books which do not use delicate scalpels in their text and axes in the footnotes.

DANIEL CALLAHAN

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The First Installment of Sartre's Autobiography

The Words. By Jean-Paul Sartre. George Braziller. $5.

by George Greene

M. SARTRE once said that authorship "is a certain way of wanting freedom. . . ." *The Words* authenticates the joy as well as the peril of that search. This first installment of his autobiography is bookish as only the memoirs of a French man of letters can be. What keeps it absorbing is the honesty with which, between rhapsodic interludes, he lets us in on the jockeying which dominates bourgeois families in one of the few lands where consciousness still ranks as a vocation. Just as we are about to accuse him of solemnity, he produces his own quip.

Wife of a naval officer who died at thirty, Sartre's mother returned to live with her father, who had emigrated from Alsace after the defeat of 1870. In a household of strong resentments and intense maneuvering, her son quickly learned how to play off one guardian against another. Only suffering humanizes the incessant posturing. Family jokes feature young brides, insane, cowering on top of wardrobes after their wedding night. Nor could the lot of the widow have been easy in a clan which suspected beauty as "beyond their means or below their station. . . ." The grandfather, Charles Schweitzer, a scholar and uncle of the famous missionary, dominates the scene. Yet even his prestige comes up for reassessment: ". . . what he worshipped in me," Sartre now feels, "was his generosity."

Has anyone yet thought of examining how much modern Existentialism owes to Bismarck? In this milieu, materialistic, puritanical, private fates repeat tensions at the national level. Accounting for a good measure of doubt is the plight of vain and thin-skinned France herself, staggering into the twentieth century. It is fashionable to make fun of German guests, one of whom, in a spasm of indecision, eats his melon, seeds, rind and all. Sartre's mother and grandmother—both nominal Catholics—are more susceptible to music than to dogma. "They believe in God long enough to enjoy a toccata." At soirées visitors speak with "the pomp of an oratorio." France as well as young Jean-Paul was beset by the strain of locating "the imperceptible and shifting frontier that separates possession from hamming. . . ." Small wonder that he turned inward with abandon: ". . . I would escape from the graveyard of banalities and go back to life, to the wilderness in books."

Autonomous as any Egyptian pharaoh, Jean-Paul was a compulsive show-off. He prizes his young mother as a playmate. Denied freedom by her cautious parents, she takes her son to the silent films, where they behave like rebels skipping school. At parties he dresses as an angel, noisy, exempt from the touch of human hands. At the age of four he puts salt in the jam. He cannot indict himself on more pedestrian counts, one suspects, because of the oriental latitude he enjoys—only a sin of epic dimensions would survive in memory. Bored, he refines his mode of deluding attendants. ". . . I know nothing more amusing than to play at being good." At length the sword descends. The fate of mankind becomes synonymous with caprice: progress itself is "that long, steep path which leads to me."

What makes one willing to share in such games is the excitement, unrehearsed, with which Sartre conveys his love affair with the mind. Then indoor adventures become as tense as any thriller in the *Série Noire*. *Grandpère* Charles wants to make him a teacher, thus helping to preserve the glory of Alsace. The grandfather writes as an academician: he is "as respectable as an organ-maker, as a tailor for ecclesiastics." But the boy's needs are of a different order. Books prove more tantalizing than strangers spied upon in the street. He responds fastest to what is outsized, melodramatic, yet rarely will one read a fresher account of books *as physical presences*. He paws them as a young animal examines its prey. ". . . I would see the nudity of their inner organs, pale, fusty leaves, slightly bloated, covered with black veinlets, which drank ink and smelled of mushrooms." Now a competition more ruthless than any family fight or Indian war consumes him. "Flaubert," for example, "was a cloth-bound, odorless little thing spotted with freckles."

Ceremonial

Against the cheek the colors feel
And look like curtains. Quietly
The minister intones
His text. These dead
And all the others known
To men and God
Should be remembered. We agree.
The firing squad
Salutes. A bandsman
Offers Taps. Our flags
Are flying now. The marshal
Seeks an exit.
Dogs and bikes
Give way. The band
Plays lively music. Children's voices
Counterpoint the brass.

JAMES SULLIVAN

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Once one learns how to ignore his tantrums, it is instructive to watch the process by which Jean-Paul comes to accept his real role. He finds summaries of novels in the Larousse. At nine years he is reading *Madame Bovary*. Sometimes the small boy undermines family doctrine, which insists on the need for a child prodigy. He hides his copy of Musset and pretends to be studying Corneille. On the sly he devours the adventures of one Marcel Dunot, an iron-fisted boxer. When he claims that, at five, he had a vision of death, one suspects he is up to his old tricks, courting applause. But by now the impostor has become fatally trapped. "The playing at culture," he admits, "cultivated me in the long run."

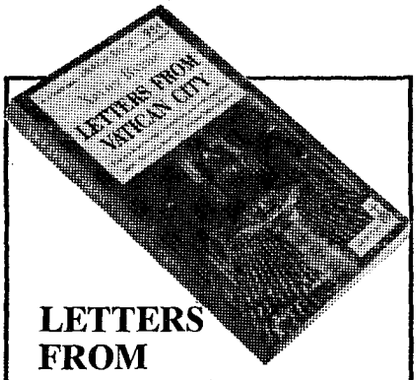
For it requires time to accept "the great dictations of experience and maturity." Daydreaming dies hard. During World War I grownups "regained their monopoly on heroism." Jean-Paul writes a story about the soldier Perrin, who captures the Kaiser and forces him to return Alsace-Lorraine. Haltingly he escapes from the posture of Narcissus. Now he wants a tomb in the cemetery of Père Lachaise, perhaps even in the Pantheon—plus a commemorative avenue. Those anonymous faces beyond the doting, deadly family circle draw closer. At the Lycée Henri IV, where he finally surrenders to the indignity of group education, he idolizes another boy, a youth who speaks "without hesitation and and without zeal, as Truth ought to speak." When the electricity fails at his home and Jean-Paul breaks a tooth in the dark, there is no howl, but laughter. One senses the first stirrings of the adult who feels that "vain surface disturbances must not hide from us the deathlike calm which is our lot."

Like all M. Sartre's work, *The Words* constitutes an appeal. It builds upon his earlier judgment that "at the heart of the aesthetic imperative we discern the moral imperative." Repeatedly one thinks of the Lutheran boyhood of his grandfather, for what this volume suggests —probably without intent—is a power close to what theologians call predestination. Between 1914 and 1916 Jean-Paul's mandate became his character: ". . . my delirium left my head and flowed into my bones." He concedes that his faith in culture is basically a transfer, "an *ersatz* of the Christian that I was unable to be. . . ."

The Words is old-fashioned in another sense also. It ratifies what Conrad saw as far back as 1907, in *The Secret Agent*, as one of the core crises of our century, the fact that "a man must identify himself with something more tangible than his own personality. . . ." M. Sartre's problem was and remains how to justify his career in a world where causality is an illusion and where the sky and the tree harmonize purely by chance. One day in 1917, on his way to school, he elected to think about the Almighty, whereupon God vanished. "He doesn't exist, I said to myself with polite surprise and I thought the matter was settled." By now it may have become less easy to accept such sidewalk dodges. Sartre disciplines his mind by accepting contradictions, "the quicklime in which the wonderful child dissolved. . . ." Desperately he values what man agrees to call culture, the passionate inquiry which "alone offers him his image."

It is the knottier problem of why he was sentenced to agonize in the first place which increasingly vexes. He cites a recurrent dream in which he is on his way by train to Dijon. An official confronts him to see a ticket which he cannot find. The collector, one suspects, would even accept an excuse. "Unfortunately I can't think of any; and besides, I don't even feel like trying to find one." That one statement is wilder than all the triumphs of Dunot and Perrin taken together. Ever since those hothouse days in the Rue le Goff, M. Sartre has been weighing replies. It's why he wrote this book, and one cannot believe he is unconscious of this truth. Otherwise one is back where one started. But, now, games are neither cute nor pardonable.

...a fascinating, contentious, and even explosive book.
—MORRIS L. WEST,
N. Y. Herald Tribune



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A DOUBLEDAY IMAGE BOOK

Putting the Self into Perspective

The Mortal No: Death and the Modern Imagination. By Frederick J. Hoffman. Princeton. $8.50.

by Bernard Murchland

HEIDEGGER gave philosophical expression to post-Freudian man when he wrote early in this century that finitude, "being-unto-death," is intrinsic to his ontological structure. The possibilities of life are predicated upon the fact of death. The anticipation of death infuses every human choice with existential urgency and concern. The unique event of death must be appropriated long before it happens by a constant awareness of it; this is the condition of whatever modicum of self-identity may be salvaged from our experiences.

Death and identity mutually illuminate one another. And in this fine work Professor Hoffman documents at some length how this has been the case in a vast body of modern literature. He states his general thesis thus: "The three terms, *grace, vio-*

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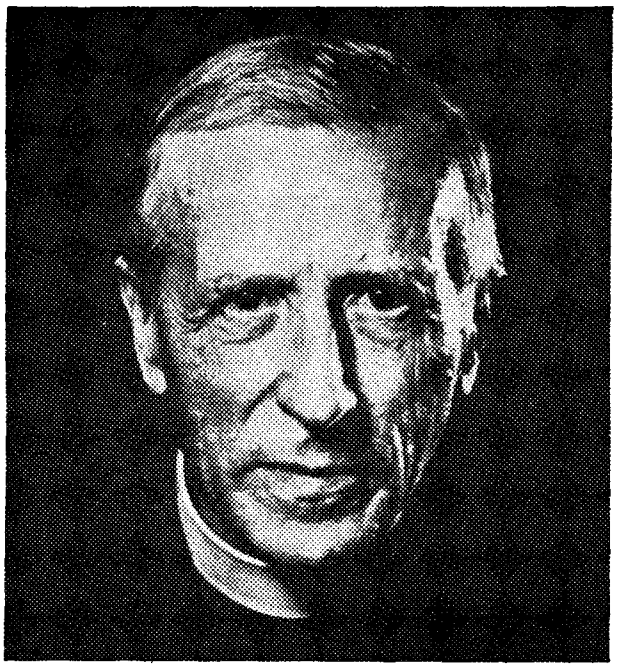
lence, and *self* are the organizing principles of this book . . . one may say that the violent destruction of the possibilities of grace has forced upon the self the responsibility of adjustment to death." Hoffman argues that the secularization of the traditional notion of grace (illustrated in such writers as Silone, Malraux and Koestler) has put the sting back into death. One consequence of this is the prominence of violence in the modern novel (Hoffman deals less extensively with poetry) and the burden laid upon an imagination adrift to render some account of it. In fact, the author writes, "much of our literature is a literature of tension caused either by unexpected violence or the expectation of violence that does not occur. . . . The major theme of this book may be described as the history of man's attempts to account for violence, to anticipate it, and to adjust to its dislocations."

Hoffman handles his theme by a masterful combination of theorizing and exegesis of specific works (well over fifty twentieth-century authors are called forth to testify). One result of this methodology and the copious—one is tempted to say promiscuous—documentation is that the reader is not likely to grasp the central theme of the book right off. It isn't really death at all; and it certainly doesn't seem to me to be violence; rather it is modern man's effort to establish a new basis of self-definition. And the underlying assumption throughout is the isolated, alienated self that has been rattling around literature and philosophy (and indeed theology) for a long time now. Hoffman indicates this in his introduction when he says that "the basic mode of adjustment to the phenomena of modern dying is that of a search for new basis of self-definition," and speaks of "the need to see self-identity of some kind as an irreducible starting point." He is well aware that the major threat to modern life is that of annihilation—not so much physical death but the dissolution of the ego. But what I take to be his central concern with the theme of the self and its vicissitudes becomes clear only later on when, in the final lengthy and very

"The mature drive of Teilhard's thought."*



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After some 300 pages the problem of death is reduced to the continuity of the self in time. We are given such clear statements on the matter as: "The principal literary concerns of our century have been the definition of the isolated self," and "the retreat of the ego, its withdrawal inward, into a state of fear and self-analysis, is a major figure of nineteenth-century intellectual history." In a word, the primary direction of modern literature is to delineate the full nature of the self and its situational dilemma. Hoffman makes good use of Hemingway, Joyce, Lawrence and the existentialists and he explores the possibilities of fulfillment. Further, he offers insight into a number of important subsidiary topics such as despair, transcendence, redemption, (by now of course, in the smaller sense), meaning, history, and time. It is an ambitious effort; and, to a respectable extent, a successful one. The conclusion is warily optimistic: a creative *Yes* to mortality's *No*. (The book's title is taken from Wallace Stevens' poetry.)

But some critical reservations are in order. Professor Hoffman's thesis hinges primarily on the terms self and identity, or better their negative counterparts, the alienated self and loss of identity. The principal difficulty with such terms is that they cannot be adequately defined or elucidated in a literary context alone. When the author concludes that "the self is the source and the responsible center of all revaluations of life" we are still not satisfied as to what in any precise sense this self might be: is it a substantial entity, a Cartesian self, a Humean self, a pragmatic, positivistic or phenomenological self? One cannot demand that Dr. Hoffman have written the final history of alienation or legitimately expect of him more than he intended to do. But much literature today is an expression of a situation that has been previously created by other forces and does not exist hermetically in an independent sphere. I submit that adequate literary criticism of the kind here attempted must draw on broader disciplines to ensure adequate clarity.

I would especially suggest greater attention to the psychological and epistemological background of the problem of self-identity. The writings of Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, H. S. Sullivan, E. Erikson, H. Marcuse and Eric Fromm are surely relevant if not essential to any discussion of the self. Hoffman is well aware that the end result of the Humean analysis of the self was to reduce the matter of identity to a series of psychological impressions. But epistemological tools are necessary to clarify the question yet further. Straus, for example, has stressed the importance of Cartesian dualism as a factor in the analysis of self and identity. Post-Cartesian consciousness stands alone, wedged off from the natural world and other people. Sensory experience is discounted as dubious and is thereby ontologically devaluated. Tillich relates much of our present predicament to the monadic structure of Leibnitz's philosophy. One writer speaks of "epistemologi-

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cal loneliness" to describe modern man's experience of isolation from himself and the world and sees a major source of our trouble in the scepticism inherited from the British empirical tradition. Others fear we have gone astray with various positivistic accounts of how we relate to the world. Many are quick to blame the still lingering but very pronounced influence of absolute idealism.

I offer these remarks because I have on my desk at the moment some dozen books treating of themes similar to those of *The Mortal No*—themes of alienation and identity, the anti-hero, the problematic rebel, and so forth. I am not at all convinced that we are going to get far in our analysis of the problem if we rely solely on what the litterateurs are saying. Indeed I am not quite sure of the value of this kind of descriptive reporting. If literature runs heavily into psychological and epistemological domains then some theoretical framework, drawn from these disciplines, seems mandatory. Modern literature is indeed problematic; but criticism must be diagnostic as well as explanatory. The looming presence of the anti-hero, as Joseph Campbell has well said, is a call to bring to light again the lost Atlantis of the coordinated soul. And he adds this advice: "It is not society that is to guide and save the creative hero, but precisely the reverse. And so every one of us shares in the supreme ordeal, carries the cross of the redeemer. . . ."

If we are to get at the root of such problems as alienation and identity we must consider them within a sufficiently ample perspective. There can be no doubt that the secularization of traditional religious symbols has bearing on our dilemma; death and violence have also assumed great importance in the modern consciousness. But there is far more to the problem than Hoffman's thesis would indicate. Radical historical, social and religious transformations have profoundly contributed to the modern temper as well as the psychological and philosophical transformations I have alluded to. Two more points ought to be borne in mind. First, I think we go wrong in assuming that alienation is a new phenomenon. Man has always been alienated, although there is no doubt that today we have a special form of it. Secondly, it is not ultimately possible to explain the new change in consciousness. Forays into intellectual history are restricted by the presuppositions of the intellectual making the foray.

Again, I should stress that these remarks cannot count as direct criticisms of Professor Hoffman. What he has done he has done superbly well. I simply want to call attention to certain limitations of his organizing principles and indicate ways in which his themes could be explored more in depth.

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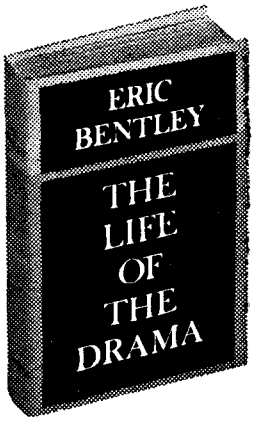

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